1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

something to bring back. No man will return from a hunting excursion empty handed to face the ridicule and anger of his wife; and as a consequence men are occasionally absent from their homes for two or three days, sleeping in the bush, until they have acquired some game, if nothing more than a turtle or a couple of birds' eggs, to bring back to the household. Under ordinary circumstances a man usually hunts alone with the help of a dog, although hunting parties are occasionally formed for the pursuit of drove animals, such as bush hog, or unwieldy beasts such as maipuri (bush cow). In fishing a man has his own private lines which he tends himself, but when a stream is poisoned, the cooperation of several men, and frequently of women and children, is enlisted.

The women of the household attend to the field products, digging the cassava and gathering the other edibles, as well as the cooking and preparation of all food. In these activities they are assisted by men too old to hunt and by young children. The cutting and preparation of the field, is, however, the man's task. And both the men and the women cooperate to do the planting.

Hunting. In the procuring of land animals, only three kinds of devices are used: the bow-and-arrow, the trap, and, rarely, the shot gun. Blow guns and spears are not in use at the present time, nor is there any memory of their former use by the Caribs. Such contrivances are said by the old men to have been used by the Akawai who formerly had settlements on the river and they are occasionally brought into the area as curiosities from distant Akawai settlements.[1]

Bows are made from four different kinds of wood and vary slightly according to the material. These four varieties are washiba (Carib, same; unidentified), letter wood (Carib, paidya; *Brosium aubletti*), bopa (Carib, same; unidentified), and yarriyarri (Carib, same, *Anaxagorea* sp.). The washiba bow in cross section is a fat oval; it is somewhat flatter on the belly than on the back and the wood is almost black. The letter wood bow has the same general

[1] Alec, for instance, says that when he was young his uncle brought a blow pipe home after he had made a trip to the head of the Cuyuni. There he had bought the weapon from the Akawais. It was made in one piece from a palm stem with the pith removed. His uncle gave him instructions concerning it. If you hit the quarry and it runs away, the poison is spoilt and the blow pipe must be thrown away. "This is because the game runs away with the essence of the poison" robbing the poison on your unused darts of its power and the weapon of its efficacy. To be successful you must try to hit the game two or three times and cut out the parts around the wounds.

411 177 A few of the men possess dilapidated shotguns which they have obtained from traders or gold diggers. These formidable weapons are known locally as "gas pipes" and are characteristically patched together with bits of string and wire. They are potentially as dangerous to the hunter as to the quarry, because their rustiness and generally feeble condition result in comparatively numerous explosions of the barrel with very serious results. Each hunter has one or two brass shells which are constantly reloaded with powder and shot. The high value of these accessories prohibits their waste and a man seldom shoots until he is sure of hitting the game.

231 224 A man usually goes hunting with his dog, which is invariably an unidentifiable mongrel trained to follow a scent without barking. To improve the sense of smell the dog is forced to submit to certain practices intended to stimulate its olfactory centers. Juice of the red pepper is poured down the animal's nostrils. This "makes the cold" which obstructs the olfactory areas "come out." Cleansing of the dog's nose may also be accomplished with a small twig. The animal is usually deprived of food for a full day before being taken on a hunting expedition so that it will have a personal interest in the search for game. Although the dogs lying around an Indian house always have a more or less dejected and emaciated appearance, a certain amount of care is taken by the Indians to keep them in good hunting condition. Mosquito worms are dug out of their skin as soon as discovered and chiggers removed from their feet. One often sees a man sitting outside the house examining the feet and skin of his dog.

224 The general hunting technique is to follow the dog to the vicinity of the game, whereupon the dog is tied to a tree with a piece of bush rope or, if well trained, made to lie down. The hunter then stalks noiselessly up to the quarry, so close as to permit an almost certain shot. Should the animal discover the approach of the hunter and take flight, the latter knows a call which he can use to attract the curiosity or favorable attention of the species in question. These calls are either whistling sounds made with the lips or grunting and humming sounds produced in the throat of the hunter. In many cases they have no apparent resemblance to the call of the animal itself, but on frequent occasions I have seen an animal about to take flight arrested with apparent curi-

224 Bush cow (Carib, maipuri; *Tapir Americanus*).
136 Birds of the following varieties, particularly:
262
Powis or bush turkey (*Crax* sp.).
Mamm (tinamou).
Dukwaru or djokoro.
Wicissi ducks.
Cock of the Rock (Carib, unknown to author; *Rupicola elegans*).

Bird eggs (particularly mamm eggs).
Rats.

262 The tchiri, a white worm which lives in the pith inside the stem
136 of the turu tree, is fried on the cassava pan and eaten. The kom-
252 buru worm which lives in decaying wood is also eaten. The Caribs do not eat tiger, snake, camudi (water snakes), monkey, chicken hawk, or "crows" (vultures). Abstinence from these forms of animal food is based on tribal taste and has no religious significance.

Kushie ants are occasionally consumed. They are parched on
[825] the cassava pan and the abdomens are eaten. There is a long white worm which is always found in a kushie ant hill, called by the Indians two-headed, because the tail closely resembles the head. It is said to be the "mother of the ants," makoyumo (probably *Amphis baenae*). The muro frog, whose quacking sound is regarded as a sign of rain, is sometimes eaten and is said to taste like "young fowl."

The magico-religious beliefs and practices concerned with hunting will be taken up in the chapter on religion.

Methods of skinning the "accouri" are as follows: An incision is made from the neck to the sexual opening; branching incisions are then made to remove the hide of each of the legs; an incision is made encircling the neck; and the whole skin excluding that of the head is removed in one piece. The head is severed from the body, the abdominal cavity is opened by a sagittal incision in its anterior wall and the contents of the cavity are removed. The carcass is then dismembered for cooking. Essentially the same method is used for other fur or hair-bearing animals.

226 Fishing. European fish hooks are obtained in trade. If these
[177] are unavailable, hooks are made from common pins or from a
824 certain thorny bush of the jungle. Fish rods of yarriyarri (*Anaxa-*

1; Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

415 block of wood which preserves their shape. The block is made of
252 konta wood, and before the introduction of tin was studded with
[177] small points of quartz and used as a grater itself. In grating the woman sits on the ground with her legs folded under her and places the grater inside the concave surface of a semicylindrical trough made of one piece of bark. The grater leans against the side of the trough next to the operator with its long axis perpendicular to the long axis of the trough. The ends of the cylindrical roots of cassava are assiduously rubbed against the grater until the whole root is reduced to a white mash in the trough (Plate 6 *b*). When the grating is completed the matapi or cassava squeezer is taken down from the cross beam of the house on which it has
[285] been hanging (Plate 9, *a*). This ingenious device, which has been described numerous times by travelers in the Guianas and the Amazon country, is a tube of basketry woven by the men. When the tube is full it is suspended by a loop at its upper end from the end of a beam, while through the loop at the tube's inferior end a long pole is inserted. The end of the pole is caught under a cross beam tied for the purpose at the proper height to one of the uprights of the house. A long length of the pole protrudes through the loop on the opposite side and on this end the woman sits, so that the pole becomes a lever, actuated by the weight of the woman, for elongating the matapi. The leverage thus exerted elongates the tube, reducing its diameter and exerting on the contents a strong pressure which squeezes out the juice of
[263] the cassava mash. The juice (eshúru) drips into a pot placed below the inferior end of the matapi and is later boiled to make cashidípyo (Creole, cassarip), used for flavoring the Carib national dish, "pepper pot." The poisonous principle in the cassava juice, hydrocyanic acid, is freed by boiling.

251 The squeezing of the cassava mash usually occupies several hours. After the juice has been completely expressed the mash, now in the shape of a long cylindrical cake, is removed from the matapi and placed on the cross beams of the house, above the fire, to be smoked. It is believed that unsmoked cassava is harsh and causes one to choke in eating it. As cassava bread is made from day to day, the required amount of the cylindrical cake is broken off and pulverized into meal and sifted through a basketry sifter into a basketry tray (Plate 8, *a*).

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

The "pan" used for baking cassava is, in these days, an iron disc about eighteen inches in diameter obtained from the trading posts. I saw only one example in use of the clay discs formerly employed for this purpose. When ready to bake bread a woman first heats the pan, which is supported on stones above the fire. The fire is reduced to a bed of coals and strips of bark are laid around its circumference, so that a circle of small flames licks the outer edge of the cassava pan, while a bed of hot coals heats the interior. When the pan, is at the proper temperature the woman takes her fan, made of basketry, which she uses for blowing the fire, and scoops up a "fan-full" of the sifted cassava and deposits it in a heap in the middle of the pan. Then she works it about with the fan until the pan is covered with an even thickness of meal. The edges are turned inward and smoothed with the fan so that no meal drops off the pan into the fire. As the "bread" bakes, the particles of meal consolidate into a cake. When the cake is considered sufficiently cooked on one side, the fan is inserted under its inferior surface, in the manner of a pancake turner, and the whole cake is deftly flipped over on its other surface. When completed the cassava bread is a disc averaging about fifteen to eighteen inches in diameter, looking somewhat like an immense white pancake. Cakes of different thicknesses are baked, depending upon the taste of the household, and upon the use to which they are to be put. Very thick cakes three quarters to one inch in thickness are distinguished for their soft, succulent, semi-cooked interiors, but are not good as food supplies to be taken on trips or to be kept for a long period, as they tend to mould.

The broad leaves of the plantain tree and of the poro tree are used to wrap the cassava bread for preservation. The arepa and the leaf must both be dry, but if well packed the bread will keep in good condition for three months or more.

In addition to bread and cassarip, starch and two alcoholic drinks, cassiri and paiwari, are made from the cassava. In making the starch (sipipya) the extracted juice of the cassava is collected in a pot and allowed to stand until the starch has settled to the bottom. The liquid is then poured off and the starch set in the sun where it becomes dry like flour. It may then be mixed in meat broth to make soup, or it may be baked on the cassava pan into cakes, which, however, are usually smaller and thinner than

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

515 The hands are usually washed previous to eating, and it is a frequent practice to go to the creek for a bath immediately after a meal.

264 Upon arising in the morning a calabash of sweet (unfermented) cassiri is frequently taken as a pick-me-up, following which a search is made of the pot for breakfast. During the day those individuals who are about the house raid the pot at will. In the evening, when the men have returned from the bush and the women from the field, food is usually taken by all at the same time.

RAIMENT

291 SARTORIALLY the Caribs of the Barama still present a primitive
177 appearance. Trade cloth, it is true, has been making its way up
439 the river in limited quantities for at least a hundred years, as the testimony of Schomburgk informs us. Its dearness and the intermittent character of the sources of supply have greatly restricted its use. But throughout the entire Barama area in 1932–33, trade cloth was in use for making the loin cloths of both sexes.
[286] The old method of weaving "laps" from cotton and bark fibre has apparently been completely forgotten. In the settlements along the lower part of the river, where contact with trading posts and prospectors is relatively frequent, practically all of the women have dresses of some sort made from imported cloth, and in these lower communities many of the men possess singlet undershirts, short khaki trousers, and old felt hats, articles which comprise an important part of the stock of a trading post or of the "trade
439 goods" of any expedition coming into the area. Trading posts or
177 bush shops serving the Indians and the Negro gold diggers are maintained at Kokerite, Massawini, and Towakaima. (See map, Fig. 1.) They are forlorn little thatched shacks; the Kokerite and Massawini shops are owned by creole Portuguese, the Towakaima shop is owned by a Chinese. The Kokerite shop is in charge of an East Indian, the Massawini shop is under the direction of a Portuguese, the Towakaima shop (owned by Chee-a-Fat, a Chinese man of business whose base of operations is at Arakaka on the Barima) is operated by a Negro. Their stock, without exception, is small and confined to staples and trade goods, but they represent the only outposts of European civilization in the area.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

and thread are available, are assiduous if not highly accomplished seamstresses, certain other items which are occasionally included in the female wardrobe deserve mention.

The loin cloths of both sexes, and the girdles, are made by the women. In addition they make the saiya and dresses. The saiya looks like a sort of skirt gathered into a band around the top. Instead of being worn around the waist, the saiya is suspended over one shoulder around the neck, leaving the other shoulder bare. Dresses of several imported patterns are constructed by the women, most of them having knee-length skirts and being rather clumsily fitted. One which enjoys a wide popularity on the lower Barama employs the "trap-door" feature familiar to American connoisseurs of underwear for nursing mothers of a generation ago. Dress patterns and knowledge of needle work have been introduced to the Carib women from at least two sources. The missionaries, here as elsewhere unconsciously working hand in hand with the traders, considered it part of the Christian religion to encase the bodies of the women in garments which would adequately protect them from the gaze of men, and provided cloth and instruction to the women for this purpose. Secondly, during the 'heyday' of the lumber business, when the sawmill at the mouth of the river was flourishing, the proprietors of that establishment were required to tax their ingenuity to the utmost in importing constantly new types of trade goods with which to rouse the avidity of the Carib woodcutters and their wives. A Carib takes the sensible attitude that there is little point in working for someone else, once he has earned all that he desires. And since the simple desires of the Caribs could be satisfied with the proceeds of a few days' labor, it was necessary for the harassed sawmill operators, who were dependent upon Carib labor in their woodcutting operations, to stimulate new desires in the hearts of their employees. One of the results of this situation was the importation of cheap ready-made silk and cotton dresses, which immediately caught the eye of the women. Unhappily, the husbands were required, at the prevailing level of prices in the bush, to work long and earnestly to procure the garments, but the women got the dresses in the end. In the course of time the necessary patching and repairing on these gowns led the women to a familiarity with their construction, so that the more skillful seamstresses learned how to dupli-

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

cate them more or less accurately. All this took place a dozen years ago, yet I was on many occasions shown the ragged remains of these "shop dresses" together with the home-made copies proudly exhibited for my critical judgment.

Babies and small children usually wear nothing at all. Some time before puberty both sexes don small loin cloths, usually bits of rag suspended between the legs from strings around the waist. (Plate 10, *a*.) The sexual differentiation in the manner of wearing the loin cloth, practised by the elders, is also recognized in the garb of the children. Near the mouth of the river several women have made dresses for their small daughters and romper suits for their little boys. The wife of Alec, my interpreter, whose home is at Kariako, is perhaps the outstanding matron in this respect.

The adult types of raiment are donned with the appearance of the physical changes accompanying puberty.

Ornament. A variety of ornaments made of cotton, beads, nut shells, insect wings, and small animal bones are donned by both sexes on special occasions. The men wear a long necklace called the kasuru kapuru, made of beads and cotton. It hangs down the back and at its end has a pendant tassel of beads or iridescent beetle wings. Men also wear a short plain necklace of cotton fringe, called moruren. The incisor teeth of leopards, wild hogs, and rats are especially prized for necklaces. They are strung on kraua cord to form short necklaces of the choker variety as well as longer types (Plate 12, *a*). If possible the teeth of only one animal are strung on a necklace, but this rule is not invariably followed. Pendants consisting of strings of seeds and cotton tufts are frequent (Plate 12, *b*). Wristlets are worn by the men; they are usually made of a woven band of homespun cotton with a fringe of china beads of various colors. In other cases they are woven from nibi fiber, the material used for making basketry (yame akundenana, bead bracelet). Men frequently wear armlets just above the elbow; these ornaments (yapesepuru, are braided from nibi fiber to make a thin band about one quarter of an inch wide; in some cases small fiber rings are suspended from the armlet. A man frequently wears two or three yapesepuru on each arm; it is said that these bands steady the arm muscles of an archer. In the villages around the head of the Barama many of the men wear ligatures (tsepu) above and below the calf of the leg; such a

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

354 The fireplaces are important parts of every house, not from the structural point of view, but because they are the centers around which food is partaken and from which warmth radiates to protect the blanketless Caribs from the sudden chill of the jungle nights. No particular construction is necessary for the fireplace, although one spot is usually selected for the fire, on which the cooking is done. The pots are set directly upon the coals and are supported by the surrounding fire wood. The cassava pan, on the other hand, is supported on rough stones at a height of from four to eight inches above the coals. At night several supplementary fires may be kindled in various parts of the house to warm various hammocks. Figure 5 shows a diagrammatic representation of the nighttime arrangement of a medium sized house. An important [412] accessory of the fire is the fan, which incidently is seldom used for cooling the skin. In a settlement a fire practically never has to be started from scratch, because somewhere among the houses is usually one which has not been allowed to go out. To insure the continuance of the fire during absence of the occupants from the house, large logs are usually left radiating from the embers so that their ends retain living coals for a long time after the flame has [313] died down. Konta wood is considered good as a fire-holder. In starting a new fire from embers, fine splinters of dry wood are heaped in a conical pile over the embers and brought to a flame by blowing with the mouth or by fanning. The Indians are adept at securing dry or resinous kindling wood, even in a heavy rain. The wettest looking piece of wood in the jungle, if it is solid, can be trimmed down to its dry core, which can be shaved into kindling.

372 When confronted with the necessity of starting an entirely new 177 fire, the Carib usually relies, in these days, upon one of the following methods: matches, gunpowder and cartridge caps, or iron and flint. Safety matches may be bought at the trading posts at the standard price of ten cents for a one-cent box, and those natives who have any contact at all with the shops usually have at least one box of matches stored somewhere about the house, carefully protected from cold and damp. Naturally, these conveniences of white civilization are used only with the greatest parsimony. In emergencies, a man with ammunition can start a fire by exploding a cartridge cap into a small pinch of gun powder. Many of the men possess strike-a-light outfits consisting of a piece of flint and

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

a bit of old iron. The spark is struck into dry moss carried with the outfit in a small basketry wallet. Several of my informants

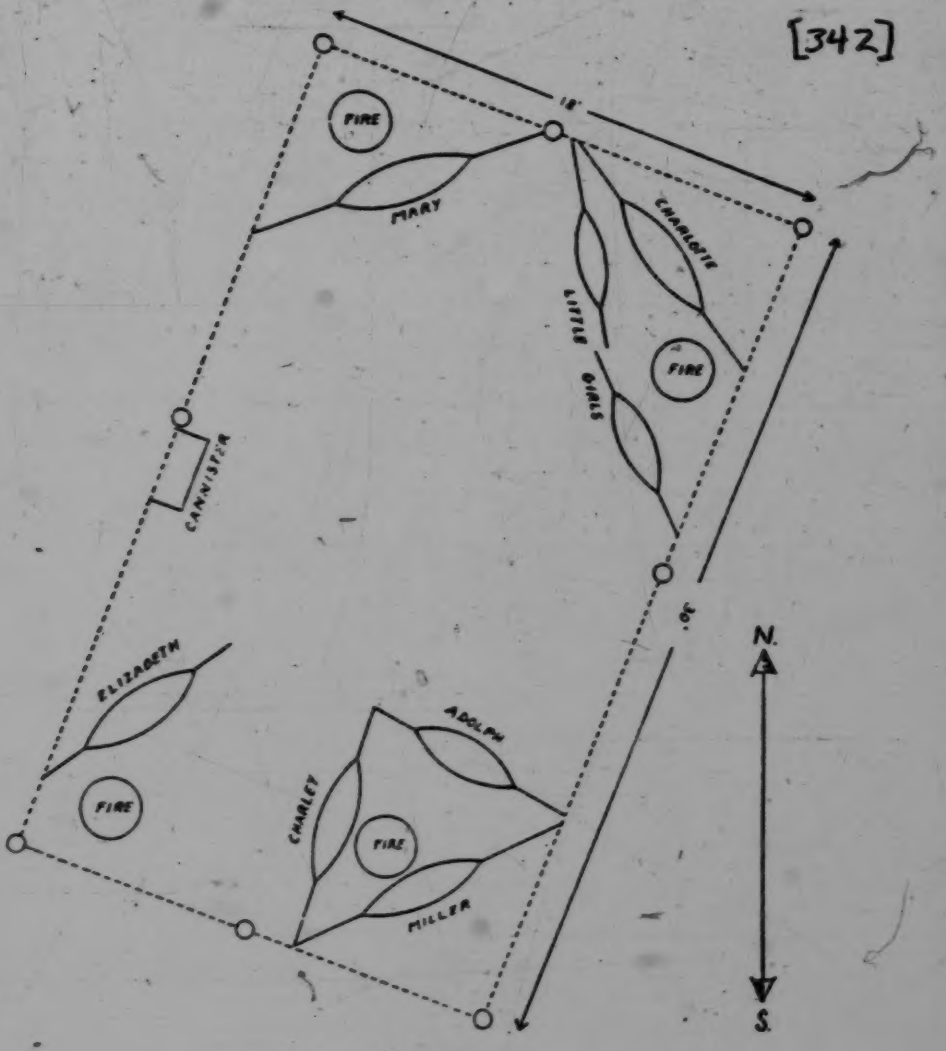

FIGURE 5
Plan of the interior of house at Sawari during the night.

claimed the ability to make fire by rubbing two sticks of wood together, but in none of their repeated trials did they succeed. This method is apparently very seldom used now.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

the approach of reptiles. Parrots (kurewako) are frequent tenants 231
of the houses; one of these birds at Sawari could speak several 136
Carib phrases and realistically imitated the whining of a dog and
the moans of a woman in sexual embrace, much to the amusement [522]
of the men. Corn birds (awashiwini), resembling in size and
plumage the common American black bird, are taught to perch
upon their owners' hands and necks, and are frequently to be found
fluttering about the floors of the houses; at Sawari, one woman
regularly on rainless days placed just outside her house a shallow
dish full of water where the corn bird would come to bathe, flutter-
ing and preening itself, and not at all abashed by the presence of
people. Mention has already been made of the treatment ac-
corded to hunting dogs. Care is also taken to provide for the com-
fort of the bitches when littering; one afternoon in Miller's house
at Sawari, the whole family assisted for several hours at the ac-
couchement of a bitch; a walisha lined with leaves was placed on a
shallow depression in the floor; the children looked on and assisted
the dog to be comfortable during the process of parturition. The
Spanish cadouri is a small black and white bird (pipishi) about the
size of a sparrow, greatly prized for its friendly ways. These birds
are regularly fed on crumbs of cassava bread. Chickens (korotoko)
are present at most of the settlements; they all appear to be a
mongrel black and white fighting breed, and have probably been
introduced from Venezuela in fairly recent times; neither the eggs [177]
nor the flesh of these fowls is eaten; nor do the Indians show any
interest in cock-fighting; the chickens are kept simply as luxury
pets, and much time is spent in admiring and boasting of the form,
color, and feathering of the birds. Young bush hogs (abuya) are
occasionally kept as pets and eaten when they attain maturity;
in several cases I found them tied to the house posts with bush-
rope, "because they bite people." Toucans (kwiaking) are favorite
pets. The kibihi is a small furry animal, somewhat resembling a
racoon, often found as a pet around Carib houses. Pet monkeys
of several small species frequently inhabit the trees about the
house, coming down to be fed by the human beings.

Brooms of brush are used for sweeping out the floors of the 356
houses, although, regrettably, this function is performed too in- [412]
frequently to suit the tastes of a European. Garbage and refuse
are carried into the bush near the settlement, where they are 364

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

415 177 **Imported Containers.** In many of the villages which maintain contact with the trading posts, European utensils and containers are to be found. The "sauce pan," a small tin pail of about one quart capacity, with a lid, is issued as part of their regular equipment to wood cutters and other laborers who are employed by outsiders operating in the area. An enameled metal plate is similarly issued. Consequently, these utensils are to be found in households where the men have worked for outsiders.

The Caribs use no eating utensils of their own, but some families have obtained metal spoons in trade from the shops.

415 322 **Drink Barrel.** Every household aspires to the ownership of a kanu, which is illustrated in Plate 20, *b*. The kanu is used as a reservoir in which alcoholic drinks are fermented and from which they are served. The specimen illustrated has a capacity of about forty gallons. It is made from sorodani wood, the same which is popular for the making of korials. As can be seen, the vessel is made from one large log of wood, which has been hollowed out, and which has a pointed projection at each end. The excavating of the interior is accomplished by the same methods used in making korials. A depression is first hacked with an axe. This depression is then filled with hot coals from a fire, which are fanned so that they will char the wood as deeply as possible. Then the charred wood is removed with axe, knife, or cutlass, and the process repeated until a cavity of the proper size has been made. The [532] projections at the ends, which are exactly similar in form, are said to represent the head and tail, respectively, of the armadillo. The kanu, when filled with beverage, is covered by a piece of bark which protects the contents from insects and dirt. The whole [343] thing is kept in a specially constructed building, the kanu'eti.

Bamboo Containers. Only one type of bamboo container is used by the Caribs at present, an unguent pot in which is kept the face paint. These vessels are simply tubes of bamboo; the upper end is cut off below a node, leaving the container open at this end; the lower end is also cut off below a node, so that the septum of the node serves as the bottom of the container. On several [532] specimens crude designs are scratched in the outer cortex of the bamboo, and on one of these was observed the only attempt to portray the human form in line which I discovered on the Barama.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

In the field of art the Caribs have achieved only modest results. The simple decorations of household utensils and furniture, personal ornament and decoration have been described elsewhere. A limited amount of sculpture in wild beeswax is performed for amusement. The few examples of this art observed by me were all caricatures, consciously humorous depictions of actual persons or animals, with no religious or magical significance.

Examples of musical composition and songs have been presented earlier in this section. Three general types of musical instruments are in use. The sambura, or drum, has a wooden frame with two heads of skin. Purple heart and silver belly (*Copaifera publiflora* and *Nectandra* sp.) are said to be the best woods for making the frame. A cylindrical section is cut from a tree, the outer bark removed, and the inside hollowed out with knives and chisels until the walls of the frame are about one half inch in thickness. The skin heads are made of akuri skin (*Dasyprocta aguti*) from which the hair has been removed. The original outer surface of the skin is exposed when it is fixed to the drum. The heads are each held in place by a hoop of tough withes bound about with kraua string and mani gum. The two hoops are united by a cross-string of twisted kraua fiber, which is attached in the European manner, and which may be tightened or loosened to tune the drum. Only one end of the drum is struck, and across the other, or silent head, is stretched a thin double thread of kraua, in which is twisted a small stick about the size of a toothpick. This stick, or resounder, lies against the silent skin head, and its position, together with the tautness of the two strings which support it, affect the tone of the instrument.

In use, the drum is usually held under the left arm, against the side of the body, and struck with two sticks. The stick held in the left hand strikes the drumhead near its periphery in short light strokes, while the stick in the right hand strikes the center of the head more vigorously. The most usual rhythm is short (left), long-long-long (right). The drum is provided with a length of kraua string by which it may be slung over the shoulder for carrying.

Roth says that it is probable that "the two-skin drum was introduced through the Arawak and Carib Islanders from North America, after the European invasion. Such an hypothesis would

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

534 account for its silent end, its resounder, and its generally Spanish
177 name."[1]

The second type of musical instrument is the fiddle. Recently traders in the area have stocked cheap European violins, which the natives have bought with alacrity and strung with cotton thread. The home-made type of fiddle is, however, constructed from
[824] bamboo, as illustrated in Roth,[2] or is made from congo-pump, a soft grainless wood which springs up in abandoned clearings. All types of fiddles are strung with three cotton strings, the tones of which depend not upon their texture but upon their length and tautness. The home-made fiddle is about two feet long by about three inches wide. It is provided with pegs, bridge, and tail. In playing it, the Carib holds the tail against the shoulder rather than under the chin. It is a mistake to believe that these instruments are merely playthings used for making some sort of indiscriminate
533 noise. The Carib tunes are studied carefully, and the public is quick to criticize inaccuracies on the part of a virtuoso.

534 The third type of instrument is the bone flageolet. This is
321 usually made of the tibia of the tibisiri deer. A hole is made in the
[825] anterior margin of the superior epiphysis and shaped with mani gum, so that the stream of air is directed against the sharp edge of the anterior wall of the shaft. Three holes are provided at
[533] regular intervals. The sounds thus produced seem to harmonize, to an untrained ear at least, with those produced by the native fiddle. (See Plate 26, *b*).

534 Recently traders have introduced harmonicas or mouth organs
177 into the region, and the Indians have taken them up with great energy. The mouth organ is at present, however, used only as a noise-making device, since the natives are as yet unable to master the harmonic scale.

538 Aside from songs sung to music, another form of literary effort common among the Caribs is story-telling. A number of folk tales are presented in our chapter on Myths. These comparatively formalized tales are told less frequently, however, than are extemporaneous yarns based upon personal experiences. At the end of each day, at home or on the river or the trail, the adults lie in their hammocks for some time before going to sleep and trade yarns. These are usually somewhat embellished and exaggerated

[1] Roth, 1924, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs*, p. 467.
[2] Roth, 1924, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs*, Fig. 230, B.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

621 162 **External Contacts of the Settlement.** The Sawari settlement, with a population of twenty-six adults and twenty-one children, includes three residential clearings and several associated agricultural fields or gardens. As can be seen from Figure 9, a nearly straight line running from northeast to southwest can be drawn through the three clearings where the people live. The clearing occupied by John Miller, the headman of the whole settlement, lies farthest to the southwest. About a half-mile northeastward, separated by intervening jungle, is the house clearing of Edwin. And perhaps three-quarters of a mile northeastward of Edwin's house lies the clearing for the houses of John Cook, Henry Daniel, John and Daniel. This arrangement of the several divisions of the community is reflected in the social positions of the members affected thereby.

103 As is the case with all Carib settlements on the Barama, Sawari takes its name from the creek where the people get their water supply. The Sawari Creek, so named from the numerous sawari-nut trees (*Caryocar Pekea tuberculosa*) which grow along its banks, flows south of Miller's clearing, passes east of Edwin's clearing, and empties into the Barama at a point almost directly north of the latter.

361 [487] Outside contact at the time of my appearance at Sawari was maintained with the settlements of Haiari and Kwamata across the river, and with Kurewa, which lies about midway between Sawari and Towakaima itself. (See Figure 1.) An old trail running southwestward to the higher settlements of the upper Barama had not been used for several years, and the Sawari Caribs were completely out of touch with those farther up the river.

484 [361] This section of the country is unmapped, and reliable estimates of linear distances are impossible without instruments because of the meandering courses which both the jungle trails and the streams pursue. Consequently, distances are usually spoken of by the Indians in terms of the length of time required for a reasonably swift man to cover them. On this basis Haiari is three hours distant, but men travelling with loads usually take at least five hours or half a day. Kwamata is about six hours. Kurewa is about twelve hours, a long day away.

177 361 The source of such European influence as exists in this region is Towakaima. On the left bank of the river, at a distance of about

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

a mile and a half below the Great Falls, is the "shop," or trading post, owned by Chee-a-Fat, a Chinese man of business whose base of operations is at Aranka on the Barama River. Aranka is twenty-nine and three-fourths miles distant from Towakaima via the now dilapidated government trail, which was built to connect the two rivers during the hey-dey of the gold rush. At the time of my study, the shop at Towakaima was in charge of one James Cook, a negro, and it boasted a very small and depleted stock of staple goods. The other "foreign" resident of Towakaima is Mr. H. Pestano who lives on his land grant of five acres, leased from the government. Mr. Pestano is a literate Portuguese Creole, formerly residing on the Berbice Coast. Mrs. Pestano, the daughter of a negro prospector and a Carib woman, is acquainted with the contemporary cultures of both of her ancestral stocks. Both the Pestanos are thoroughly versed in the ways of the Caribs and well liked by them. Many of Mrs. Pestano's relatives live in the Barama settlements. To the Pestanos I owe my thanks for valuable assistance in my efforts to understand the Carib culture.

Towakaima, in the days of the gold rush, was the station of a government warden, and the ruins of his house and office now lie, barely discernible among the ravages of wood ants and tropical decay, in a rank second growth of jungle near Mr. Pestano's present wattle and thatch house. During the period of mining activity, ended about 1912, Towakaima was apparently a vigorous outpost of civilization. I am told that in highwater Sproston's launch made regular trips up the Barama to this point, and that the now decrepit trail to Aranka, on the more easily navigable Barama, was fit for wagon traffic. About 1910, we hear, the firm of Farnum and Smyth had a shop for a period of a year on the Anamu, and regularly hauled tent boats over the falls by means of rollers and rope and tackle. These facts are mentioned in order to give a complete picture of the possible external influences which the inhabitants of Sawari may have felt. Even during the period of Towakaima's efflorescence, however, Sawari appears to have remained off the beaten path, still a day's walk through the bush beyond Farnum and Smyth's shop. And, so far as the Indians and other informants could say, white men had never visited Sawari previous to my appearance there, and it has been relatively free from outside contact. Nevertheless,

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

during my stay in the settlement a visit was made by one Charles Bell, a negro prospector who was working alluvial gold near the settlement of Haiari, and it is not improbable that other negroes have visited the place. Therefore, the statement that Sawari had hitherto been spared the visit of a white man does not eliminate the fact that some European cultural influence has trickled through. However, continued and intensive contact must be present to affect radically the lives of these people who live in the depths of the forest; and at present only the shop and the Pestanos at Towakaima afford tangible media for these influences. John Miller, the headman of Sawari, spent three years in hospital and jail in Georgetown, as related later in this section. His contact with civilization seems to have had no important cultural effect on Sawari.

Towakaima may be reached from Sawari by any one of three different routes. First, in two days of fast hiking one can travel from Sawari to Towakaima by the trail through the bush south of the river. This trail passes through the settlement of Kurewa. My party, with eighty-pound loads on their backs, required two days and a half to negotiate the distance on a forced march. Second, by trail north of the river through the settlement of Kwamata, Towakaima may be reached, with loads, in two days or slightly less. And third, by river, two to six days are required, depending upon the height of the water. Coming up the river in the third week of December, with water at middle height, our party required six days.[1]

Physical Plan of the Settlement. Sawari comprises three residential districts or clearings, lying on an approximately straight, but imaginary line, running roughly northeast to southwest. I shall designate these three divisions in English as the Caribs do in their own language, John Miller's clearing, Edwin's clearing, and John Cook's clearing.[2] Figure 9 shows the general plan of the entire Sawari settlement.

Nearby Miller's clearing are three fields which are at present

[1] The official government map in the archives of the Department of Lands and Mines in Georgetown, a tracing of which was supplied to me through the kindness of the Hon. John Mullin, shows blank the territory of the upper Barama between the Anamu and Baramita Rivers. The course of the river as drawn is marked "supposed course of the Barama." During the river journey from Towakaima to Sawari the Harvard Expedition encountered river rapids of sufficient size to necessitate portaging the loads of the expedition's corials. These rapids, as well as the ranges of the hills which must be crossed on the Kwamata line, form effective barriers to more frequent intercourse.

[2] John Miller and John Cook say that they have been officially baptized by a missionary at Aranka. Other members of this settlement, as is the case with all the Caribs on the Barama, also have English names because of tabus which limit the use of their Carib names, even among themselves. For the sake of clarity the English names will be used here.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

loading shot gun lying on the loft poles of his house, ready for powis shooting the next morning. The small boy secured this weapon during the course of the fight, without anyone observing him, and aimed at Miller's head. Being so small, he was unable to hold the gun steady, but, as it was, the charge of buckshot caught Miller in the left arm at a range of a few feet, putting him out of commission for the time being.[1] Thereupon the boy ran away into the bush. Alec and Miller's father followed in a towering rage, but were unable to find the boy, so they returned to the scene of the battle and finished off old Robert by cutting him to pieces with their cutlasses, after which they buried him in a hole in the ground and disappeared into the bush. Robert's kinsmen went down river in canoes and reported the fight at the Baramanni police station (now abandoned), which stood at the confluence of the Baramanni and the Waini. In about six weeks Miller, Alec, and their father, who had been hiding in the bush, were captured by the police and taken to Georgetown. Miller was given a three-year jail term, twenty-six months of which he spent in the hospital, undergoing a complicated series of operations which have left his arm a stiffened mass of scars. His left arm is thus permanently bent at the elbow, and the fingers of the hand are immovable, but, in spite of his handicap, Miller remains one of the best huntsmen in the village and is respected by all for his cunning, courage, and strength.[1] Not only has Miller established a strong position for himself personally and politically, but he is now learning the piai technique from old David, and upon the latter's demise will doubtless succeed David as the village religious official.

[1] The account of Miller's adventures in white civilization is not unilluminating as a note on acculturation as it affected one Carib at least. The story of his experiences in Georgetown was one of the few subjects which Miller could treat connectedly in pidgin English. He repeated it to me in almost precisely the same form every time he got drunk, which is to say a good many times in the course of the four months I knew him. I give it here with some emendations in his own words as I took them down on one occasion: "Dey put me inside hos-pee-tal an me go sleep like after me all-same drink plenty cassiri. Dey put me inside night-shirt. Me no like! But gal in hos-pee-tal — dem gal in white dress — dey nice, dey hold me hand, rub me head, put glass ting in me mout. But dey no get inside bed with me. . . Hos-pee-tal all same done. Me stay inside jail long time. Me no like. Inside jail dey give me good bread, good meat. But de night — no fire, cold! Me tink me for dead wit cold. . . Den governor tell me for go home. He buy me [with the careful pronunciation of one who has memorized an unfamiliar list] hat, collar, necktie, shirt, pants, shoes. An he give me one piece paper [ticket] for walk on big korial [steamer] Morawhanna side. An he give me *good* ration — six cake cassava, two pound salt fish, one pound sugar, an two dollar cash. Two dollar, panari! . . ." "What you do with two dollar?" "Me have *good* time, panari, good time. First ting me buy one moto car wit one dollar. Me walk all about Georgetown inside dat car. Den me buy one black gal, nice black gal, panari, pretty black gal, man! Me buy for one night." "One dollar?" I ask skeptically. "Yeh. One dollar. But she keep me pants, me shirt, too. Me no care, me no get dem ting inside bush. On big korial me play with black men. Dey got dem little ting, how you call? dem ting wit black spot on dem. One man take me shoes, me hat. Me no care. Me come home." Miller at least has the necktie as a souvenir of the generosity of the government and at this point he opens his pegall and exhibits the neckpiece proudly.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

682 accident; in all other cases it is subject to retribution. Poisoning
627 may be distinguished from homicide in cases where it is not fatal;
poisoning itself is used as a form of retribution, but secretly, and
[154] in any case, if the poisoner is discovered, the intended victim
feels that an offense has been committed against him. The same
is true of sorcery which is used as a means of retaliation. Practically speaking, however, if a Carib who has committed an offense
discovers his victim using either poison or sorcery against him as
a retaliation, he devotes his efforts to self-protection rather than
[208] to counter retaliation. Public opinion supports the use of poison
and sorcery as means of retaliating for an unprovoked offense.
On the other hand, the use of these measures because of mere
dislike, sadism, drunkenness, or anger is regarded as offensive and
properly to be punished.

685 Theft is the misappropriation of another individual's property.
All goods are individually owned among the Caribs. A man owns,
for instance, his field, house, hunting and fishing equipment,
canoes, ornaments, tools, the game he has bagged. A woman
owns the implements which she uses in field and house, the pottery
which she makes or acquires, the basketry (which is made, how-
ever, by the male members of the family), her clothing and orna-
• [177] ments. Where the Indians have come in contact with prospectors
for gold, each man has private ownership in the gold creeks which
424 he has discovered and which he may sell. A sorcerer and a medicine
551 man each has ownership in his techniques and knowledge. All
the foregoing types of property are alienable in one way or another.
But each individual may also be said to own his or her personal
name, which is alienable under no circumstances. To prevent theft
and magical misuse of the personal name, an Indian guards it
closely and allows only trusted intimates to know what it is.
Names, for example, Big Frog, Curly Hair, Haimara (a fish), are
invented by the mother and given to the child in infancy. They
are based on supposed resemblance of the child to some animal
and imply a faint spiritual bond between the person and said
animal.[1] Communally held forms of property, if they may be so
called, are certain songs and traditions.

000 As in many primitive communities, in spite of the importance

[1] This is, however, only a hint of personal totemism or guardian spirit concept. I have found no trace of a set of formulated rights and duties between the person and the animal involved.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

exist at present. In this region a hunting, fishing, and agricultural life restricts the size of the group and isolates it. Only a small group with a wide territory about it can exist, if the people are to have sufficient animal food. Furthermore, the available crop-raising soil in any one spot will support only a small population, because of the fact that cassava requires a drained sandy loam, a type of soil which is found only in small and widely scattered areas in the jungle. This soil, even when located, will, however, produce only two good crops, after which the field must be abandoned and a new one cut, making the disposition of the fields and the membership of any given settlement unstable. Even the term of existence of the settlement itself is usually limited. Hunting operations as carried on here also make for social instability and individuality, because hunting can be done most successfully by one man and seldom in parties of more than four. It is also often necessary for a man to be away from home for several days following game, and since whenever possible a Carib takes his wife and children with him when he is away over night, this factor also contributes to the looseness of the established group.

Even so, it seems that a stronger organization than the present was formerly maintained for purposes of war and defense. Since the early part of the nineteenth century, however, the European political control of the colony has succeeded in repressing inter-tribal warfare. With their cultural background, therefore, the Caribs have found environmental conditions and exterior political conditions unfavorable to the development of political power and group solidarity. As a consequence, I think, legal, judicial, and penal institutions which otherwise would support such a solidarity, show little formal development.

RELIGION

Supernatural Beings. The Carib world is jointly inhabited by human beings and a number of supernatural powers. There are two kinds of supernatural beings, spirits and ghosts. The former are independent beings or powers, the latter represent the souls of dead human beings. (Spirit, akuru; ghost, yumbupa akasang.) The supernatural beings of the first class, which we will call spirits, inhabit the land, the water, the air, and at some time

il Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

identification. Once the heavenly bodies were started in the race, they could not stop. Ever since that remarkable event, the stars and moon have continued in their endless flight about the sky, and the creator spirit has now fixed them there in the celestial steeplechase forever. Regarding the phases of the moon, it is believed that the creator spirit causes it to swell and deflate itself in regular periods so that men may keep track of time as it passes.

Little more seems to be known concerning the head spirit. He is remote, but at the same time all pervading. On the whole he is beneficent, but he, like other spirits, is given to phases of anger, as shown by the incident involving the transformation of the man into spirit guise.

The creator spirit is assisted by a chief lieutenant who is called Komanakoto, a name which is also applied to the original medicine man, although it is insisted that there is no identity. Komanakoto acts as the managing executive of the universe, devoting more attention to detail than does the supreme spirit. But he is also far removed from the affairs of men in these days, despite the fact that it is possible for a medicine man who has become well acquainted with all the other spirits in the pantheon to succeed in establishing contact with him. This, however, is possible only for a medicine man of long and successful experience.

It is obvious that the ideas of the Caribs regarding a supreme being are poorly developed and impersonal, but there seems little reason to suspect that the rudimentary notions which we have just described are in any way due to Christian influence, for in general they seem to agree with the beliefs held by the Guiana Indians in the earliest records.[1] Gumilla, for instance, speaking of the Caribs of the Orinoco, says, "The Caribs call God Quiyumocon, i.e. Our Big Father, but it is not sufficiently clear whether they mean by this expression the First Cause or the most ancient of their ancestors."[2]

On the Barama I have been unable to find agreement with Roth's statement, apparently concerning the Pomeroon Carib, that "the present-day British Guiana Carib name for God is . . .

[1] Roth, 1915, *An Inquiry into the Animism and Folk Lore of the Guiana Indians*, p. 117, "The native tribes of Guiana had no idea of a Supreme Being in the modern conception of the term."

[2] Gumilla, 1791, *Historia natura del Rio Orinoco*, quoted in Roth, 1915, *Animism and Folk Lore*, p. 117.

291
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291

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

a, Typical costume of boy and man respectively throughout the Barama area.

b, The most usual type of homemade dress owned by women who can obtain trade cloth. Photograph also shows a favorite manner of arranging the hair.

[End plate 10]

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534
1: GWlln E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9
291
171

a, Appearance of a Carib man who works for one of the trading posts. This type of costume is unusual on the Barama.

b, The headman of Siwari, Miller, with his pisi rattle. Note forehead covered with white porcelain-down and fillet of cotton on head.

[End plate 11]

177

[For information on various aspects of Carib acculturation and culture contacts, See category 116, pp. ii, 1-3, 5, 10-13, 16-34, 38, 40-41, 43, 46-48, 50-55, 57-58, 60-61, 65-69, 71-72, 74, 76-96, 98, 103-123, 126-129, 131-139, 142-144, and 149-150.]

C E L R 101

Boni
Emerillon SQ8
Rucuyen SR12
Carib SR9
Locono SR10

/11 cont./

3) The autochthonous Indians are represented on the Maroni Basin by three groups:

C [13] [162] [433] [177] [178]

—The Arawak and the Kalifia (Galibi) (about 500 persons) live downstream from Saint-Laurent; they live in symbiosis with the population of the city, whom they supply with fish and manioc. A century of contact with the Creole population has produced a certain alteration in their customs and traditional way of life, but the essentials of their tribal organization remain intact.

R [131] [162] [178]

—The Oayana /Oyana/ or Roucouyennes /Rucuyen/ (about 250 persons) live on the Litani upstream from the Boni with whom they are in close relationship. They have not undergone any alteration in their race or their way of life.

E [131]

—The Emerillon, who belong to the Tupi-Guarani group, form a small grouping on the way to extinction.

B 114

The Refugee Blacks. —Ethnic origin. No comprehensive anthropological study has as yet been undertaken on the Refugee Blacks. Not possessing the specialized knowledge necessary for tackling this study, we have left it entirely aside. Besides, we doubt that it would give important detailed information on the ethnic origin of the Refugee Blacks. Study of archive documents concerning the slave trade would certainly give more particulars; it is certain from now onwards that their origin is very diverse; the slave traders took on provisions principally on the coast of West Africa, but also in the Congo and in present-day Angola; the African words figuring in the present dialects come from the populations of these various regions. So it is not surprising to meet rather variable skull forms and statures among the Refugee Blacks.

B 175 144 [192]

B 141

The Refugee Blacks are in general of medium stature, that of the adult men being between 1 meter 60 and 1 meter 75; the average is a little below 1 meter 70.